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NSC BRIEFING

26 April 1955

BANDUNG CONFERENCE SUMMARY

I. Most remarkable aspect of Bandung conference was effective role played by aggressive anti-Communist delegations.

A. Seized initiative at outset, when Turks and Paks successfully squelched Nehru's proposal to dispense with opening speeches.

B. Imposing parade of speakers mounted rostrum to denounce Communism:

1. Columbia-educated Jamali (Iraq) made particularly effective attack: Said Communists "confront world with new form colonialism, much deadlier than the old."

2. When opening speeches concluded, Romulo commented: "America doesn't realize how many friends it has here."

C. Anti-Communists also dominated conference committees.

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D. While avoiding dogmatic positions, anti-Communist

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group repeatedly thwarted or heavily amended objectionable proposals:

1. Favorite maneuver was to recommend that issues before conference be dealt with within framework of the UN.
2. Thus, instead of adopting Communist-neutralist proposals regarding "coexistence" and "five principles," conference's closing communique held that "nations should practice tolerance and live together in peace" in accordance with principles of UN charter and that each country had right to defend itself singly or collectively, as recognized by UN charter.
3. Denunciation of colonialism, which conference sponsors expected to be common denominator at Bandung, was also turned into weapon by anti-Communists:
 1. After long battle, colonialism was denounced--"In whatever form it may manifest itself"--a statement designed to cover present Communist expansion as well as past Western history.
 2. Only important issue on which all conferees readily agreed: French should quit N. Africa.

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- II. **Neutrals--primarily responsible for calling conference--**
were forced to take back seat, came away disappointed
that meeting did not avoid controversy.



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B. Nehru, who sought role of major domo, probably
unhappiest man in Bandung, with both his views
and leadership quickly rejected.

C. He probably also stung by fact that Chou's
offer to negotiate with US on Formosa Straits
"tensions" followed immediately after Ceylon's
slashing attack on Communism.

1. Sequence made it appear that lengthy Indian
efforts to achieve US-Chicom talks had been
wasted labor.

- III. In contrast to submerged Nehru, Peiping's Chou was easily
most outstanding individual at Bandung.

A. Received hero's welcome on arrival, was "social
lion" throughout.

B. Had single objective--win friends, influence
people: repeatedly stated Peiping only interested
in eradicating colonialism, promoting Afro-Asian
solidarity, enhancing world peace.

C. To give substance to position, Chou:

*Chou
Peiping*

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1. Concluded treaty with Indonesia ending "dual nationality" of local Chinese within one year and also backing Indonesia's claim to West New Guinea,
2. Talked trade with Japanese,
3. Supported Arabs against Israel and France,
4. Invited such staunch anti-Communists as Romulo, Prince Wan and Mohammed Ali to visit Communist China,
5. Attended numerous side meetings in interest of "reducing tensions," at one of which he straight-facedly suggested possibility of finding honorary post for Chiang Kai-shek in Peiping government.

IV. Chou's climatic offer to negotiate Formosa issue designed to obtain initiative at dramatic finale--according to pro-Western observer, was "a most impressive performance."

A. Even if Chou made no new friends, he certainly didn't alienate any old ones.

1. Nehru, more often than not, defended him.
2. Neutralist press hailed his "brilliant diplomacy," praised his "forebearance."
3. Offer to negotiate with US was well-received by practically all delegates.

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D. Playing same tune on smaller fiddle, only other Commie leader present--Pham Van Dong of North Vietnam--got into act by reaching agreement with Thailand's Prince Wan for evacuation of troublesome Vietnamese community in northeastern Thailand, reiterating intention to "respect integrity" of Laos, Cambodia.

V. Communists, however, not all "sweetness and light."

A. Communist propaganda throughout world accused US and Chinats of sabotaging Kashmir Princess, (Air India plane that crashed in South China Sea) and also of seeking to undermine conference through its "lackeys."

B. Chou accused US of being only instigator of tension in Far East; Dong complained that US was working against Geneva agreement.

C. Despite presence of S. Vietnam delegation on equal footing, Dong smilingly predicted that "at next session of Afro-Asian conference, there will be delegation of a unified Vietnam."

VI. Although sampling of Bandung "fall-out" far from complete, some conclusions possible.

A. There is no single ^{unified} Afro-Asian voice and Nehru speaks, at most, only for the neutralists.

B. Conference developments exploded neutralist theory that best way to handle Chinese Communists is to be nice to them.

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- C. Asian and African countries have been strongly influenced by Western concepts of freedom and human dignity, are profoundly jealous of their independence.
- D. They prefer to look to UN as instrument for settlement international problems.
- E. Most nonetheless realize they must depend on Western democracies both for economic advancement and for protection of continued existence as independent countries.
- F. Chen was successful at the conference in gaining further acceptance of Communist China in the international community--he clearly impressed even anti-Communists with his "reasonableness" which can be exploited in the future.
- G. Chen, however, had to pay the price of associating himself with a communiqué fashioned largely by anti-Communists, and has committed himself to a position any significant deviation from which would rapidly dissipate the good will he has gained.

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